1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

426 always done. Inside the village the hire of a pair of bullocks is 8 lbs. of grain for one day or 12 lbs. for two.

ii

608 439 Before the beginning of this century when money was introduced and shops set up in the neighbourhood, Lepchas had to travel abroad to obtain cloth and thread, salt and metal goods. They used [386 314] to collect in the forest the red dye-wood called *vyim* (the Nepali call it *majita*) and take that and whatever surplus crops they had up to the Tibetan border, where they would exchange it for salt and wool. Some of the salt they would then take to Darjeeling to exchange for thread and cloth. In order to be able to trade continuously and to receive hospitality and protection in foreign countries a formal relationship with religious sanctions was instituted. This relationship, and the two parties who entered into it, were called *ingʒong*,[1] which means literally 'like a younger brother'. For the formal establishment of an *ingʒong* relationship a pig must be killed and the intestines (*shafot*) offered to the Gods, in particular Komsi*thing*, the Lepcha supernatural who invented the relationship and who is, as it were, its patron saint; then a feast is held and the pig eaten, and the two contracting parties swear solemn oaths always to love and help one another, and never to do or think evil; after this an old and experienced man (not a lama, but it matters not who else) prepares the rite of *sakyou-faat*, the sacrifice of butter, which recurs in almost all Mun ceremonies; a cup is filled with strained *chi* and four dabs of butter are smeared round the sides; holding this the old man addresses the two who wish to become *ingʒong*, impressing on them the seriousness of the occasion, and the sanctions which would follow the breaking of their vows. Each of the *ingʒong* then drinks out of the cup and eats two of the dabs of butter. This solemnises the situation, and should either thereafter speak evil of or harm the other the god Komsi*thing* will send the devil Sankyor *moong* to punish him. It is said that Komsi*thing* first thought of the institution in the early days of creation when he was drunk; he then made *ingʒong* with all the foreigners who had goods which he did not possess: with the Nepali for their pigs, with the Plains Indians for their copper vessels, with the Bhutanese for their fine cloth, with the Tibetans for their rugs, and with the Sikkimese for their oxen.

[1] Lepchas tell me that the Tibetan term is *re-koo*, the Bhutanese *pre-koo*, the Nepali *mit*.

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

Once the full ceremony has been performed the two *ingʒong* are regarded as being in truth sons of one father, and intermarriage between their descendants is forbidden as incestuous for nine generations. The relationship between one *ingʒong* and his *ingʒong*'s wife is a respectful one, and to mark his respect he will usually address her as 'mother'. It would be almost incestuous to sleep with your *ingʒong*'s wife, but a woman does not have to hide from her husband's *ingʒong* as is the case with the *mit* of Nepal.[2] As a general rule the *ingʒong* relationship is hereditary, the sons of *ingʒong* being themselves *ingʒong*; but there is no compulsion about this and if a son does not get on with his father's *ingʒong* and his sons he can set up new relationships. Even with hereditary *ingʒong* the full ceremonial must be performed in each generation.

Nowadays the Lepchas only set up the relationship with Sikkimese and Tibetans, for the exchange of crops and dye-wood for salt, carpets and metal vessels; they are, they say, no longer friendly with the Nepali and will have no relationships with them. *Ingʒong* is not an exclusive relationship. At the end of March a Sikkimese-Tibetan husband and wife from Lachen arrived in Lingthem with rugs which they wished to exchange for crops, dye-wood and cash. In the whole Talung valley they had eleven *ingʒong*, three of whom were in Lingthem; they spent one night in the house of each. When an *ingʒong* arrives on a visit efforts are made to feast him as well as possible; and when Lepchas go to visit their *ingʒong* they take with them presents of grain, and, if possible, meat. Most of the men of Lingthem have at least three Sikkimese or Tibetan *ingʒong*.

Properly speaking the term *ingʒong* is only applicable to the ceremonial trading-relationship set up between Lepchas and foreigners; but the word is very frequently used between Lepchas with the meaning 'my special friend.' It sometimes happens that two men will drink *chi* together ceremoniously to give some formality to their relationship; but they do not perform the full ceremony for that would entail the nine-generation marriage ban, and in the small community of Zongu, where the choice of wives is already limited, this would speedily produce an impossible state of affairs. It took me a considerable time to straighten out the different implications of the term *ingʒong*, for the word is in constant use,

[2] For this fact and for other details in this book concerning the Nepali I am indebted to information derived from Mr. C. J. Morris, either in conversation or from his book '*Gurkhas*' *Handbooks for the Indian Army* (Delhi 1936).

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

Care of youngest child, born 1934.

After the mother's death Kurma's mother-in-law nursed the baby; although the child is in her fourth year she is still giving her a little milk. No medicines are needed to be given; the baby sucks and that produces the milk flow. His mother-in-law is forty-six years old but has not produced a child for several years. Kurma complains that his life is very hard as he has nobody to help him since his mother-in-law is feeble. His nephew is irresponsible and is constantly going away.

Third wife.

Six months after the death of his second wife he met his third wife, who lives at Hi. He slept with her three times and she became pregnant and he did *asék* for her immediately after the memorial service for his second wife. A son was born in September 1936. Kurma says that two other men wanted to marry her but his wife preferred him. He hopes to be able to bring her home in the autumn of 1938.

iv

March 18th to May 20th.

JOURNAL OF KURMA'S ACTIONS AND OBITER DICTA

March 18th.

Recognised Kurma as a personality for the first time. He gave details of several exorcisms.

March 19th.

Kurma came to fetch us to conduct us to the *asék* of Chano's eldest son, at his house about a thousand feet down the valley. On the way down he pointed out a tree which was the home of the deut *moong*—fever devil. This devil has been seen and looks like a man covered with long hair.

Kurma also talked about '*ingtong*' and said he had two in the neighbourhood. He said that one reason for establishing '*ingtong*' is because you love one another. Such a relationship is not established after a quarrel; should such an event occur a third party will give a big meal and try to reconcile the two quarrellers.

2: Morris T-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

439 Until about twenty years ago most of the Jongu people
426 used to take forest dyes to Lachen, in North Sikkim, which they exchanged for Tibetan salt and wool. They kept a certain amount of this salt for their own use, but the bulk of it they took into Darjeeling, where they exchanged it for raw cotton, which their women spun into cloth. But gradually the money-lender, who all over India is also a general-trader, wormed his way into Sikkim; and found the Lepchas easy prey. One rather unexpected result of this is that the Jongu people no longer wander far from home; and although most of the older people have been often as far afield as Darjeeling and Kalimpong, very few of the younger generation have been further than Gangtok, and only then for a very occasional jaunt.

439 In the days before the money-lenders arrived most of the
● 608 Jongu people had a number of *Ingzong*, or blood-brothers, in various parts of the country in order to facilitate their trading relations. A few of the people still have *Ingzong* in Lachen, but the system seems to be gradually lapsing except as a means of cementing a close friendship. Thus, a number of Lingtem men have become *Ingzong* with fellow-villagers; but in these cases the relationship has no economic basis.
[F76] In times of trouble an *Ingzong* will help one, and even work one's fields, if necessary. Karma says that one can always be sure of a good meal at the house of an *Ingzong;* but apart from this, it is useful to have a friend whom one can regard almost as a relation. He says there is no ceremony in acquiring an *Ingzong;* but the two men will usually drink out of the same bowl and exchange ceremonial scarves. If one wishes, one can cease the relationship: this is not done formally, but merely allowed to lapse gradually and natur-
[B34] ally. There are apparently no sexual privileges with the womenfolk of an *Ingzong*, nor, on the other hand, any particular taboos; but owing to the fact that sexual relations among the Lepchas are, in any case, so free, my information on this point is somewhat conflicting. The *Ingzong* relationship is carried out only by men.